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# THE AMERICAN

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### THE AMERICAN.

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#### NOTES OF THE WEEK.

REPUBLICAN Senators appear to be in none the best of humor over their tariff bill. As they near the completion of their labors a feeling not of growing contentment with their work but of dissatisfaction with themselves, their party associates, their bill, grows apace. They, no doubt, feel a sense of relief as the hour draws near that will rid them of a distasteful piece of work, a work that redounds to anything but their credit, but they cannot look back upon their labors with any lively satisfaction. The session has and is costing them dearly from a party standpoint; they have suffered loss of prestige and gained nothing; sacrificed much vantage ground, lost the confidence, the respect of thousands of voters, have been obliged to appear as the champions of monopoly, all in order to advance a tariff bill that when passed can bring no industrial revival, no increase of employment, no prosperity, but must, failing to meet these expectations, bring down the wrath of a disappointed people around the Republicans, held up by the failure of a high tariff to bring prosperity, to fill promises, as discredited prophets. And the Republican who sees this, or fears this, as the outcome of the passage of a monopoly tariff, who fears that all the discredit gained by supporting a

tariff for the protection of combines and trusts, the enrichment of the favored few and the degradation of the many, has been met in vain, that no revival will follow the enactment of the monopoly tariff, support of which has cost him so dearly, has not been put in any happy frame of mind by the progress of the tariff bill, that he loathes even while supporting it.

To listen in silence to the trenchant attacks on the tariff as a measure for the benefit of monopoly and the oppression of the people, to be cut off from making any defense of the tariff because it is all that which its enemies charge, to finally be confronted by an anti-trust amendment purposing to deprive all trusts and combines, organized to exact undue prices from consumers, of the shelter of tariff duties, to have the alternative presented of rejecting this amendment or abandoning the trusts, and by standing by the trusts to have to avow that they want a tariff for the protection of monopoly rather than a tariff for the protection of the whole people, has been sorely trying of Republican patience. As the discussion has proceeded, irritation has grown. Disgusted with the turn of the wheel of fortune, irritated that they should be exposed as defenders of monopoly, Republicans have harbored up irritation against one another. Thus we have seen the Republicans in the Senate disavow their leader and the measure of protection he built up for the benefit of the sugar trust, by repudiating the sugar schedule prepared and defended with so much care by Senator Aldrich. And thereupon have we seen the Senator who made in great part the McKinley tariff, who alone among Republicans is possessed of that thorough knowledge of the tariff schedules needed to make an intelligent defense of the bill, retire in disgust to Rhode Island, wash his hands of the tariff and leave it to its fate.

How many more Republicans would wash their hands of the whole business if they only could? But they have to stand by the tariff, put it through and take the consequences. Responsibility will follow Senator Aldrich even into his retirement. He cannot escape the discredit of the monopoly tariff being pressed upon the country. Nor can any of his associates escape the responsibility and discredit, whatever they may do. If only the minority parties in the Senate could and would defeat the bill, how it would clear the political atmosphere for the Republicans!

NOTHING has been more irritating to the Republicans bent on having a monopoly tariff than the presentation of Senator Pettigrew's anti-trust amendment, resulting in drawing the lines sharply between a tariff for the protection of monopoly and a tariff for the protection of the whole people. This amendment was spoken of in the Washington dispatches as "one of the most troublesome subjects the Republican leaders have to face" as a "most puzzling matter." Yet it is an amendment in no way destructive of the tariff either as a revenue or protective measure; it would be destructive of the tariff only so far as it is a measure of oppression, and such amendment should have been welcomed, not spurned, by protectionists, for it is certainly not the professed aim of protection to put our people under tribute to the

protected industries. This has been charged by the enemies of the system, but ever vehemently denied by its friends. But now, when it is proposed to so amend the tariff as to put the trusts beyond the pale of protection, such amendment is opposed and cast to one side by the avowed friends of the protective system. By so doing, these avowed friends are undermining the protective system; they are paving the way to its downfall, for they are upholding it as class legislation, not as legislation aimed for the benefit of all, making of the tariff not an instrument for the protection of all classes, but an instrument to enable the trusts to increase their exactions. And such a tariff can not stand. True friends of protection, of the protection that aims to protect the consumer no less than the producer, should have welcomed Senator Pettigrew's amendment. But the general disposition of Republicans was to get around it, and they have got round it by voting it down and promising to substitute an amendment of their own preparation,—a promise that will not be kept in good faith.

They recognized it as awkward, for they could not well afford to be put in the position of defenders of monopoly. So they strove to make it appear that Senator Pettigrew's amendment does not draw the lines sharply between a monopoly and a protective tariff, that the adoption of such an amendment would wreck the bill as a revenue measure, withdraw protection from the innocent as well as the guilty, that the way to deal with trusts is not through the tariff, and that therefore a vote against such amendment should not be construed as a vote for monopoly. But it cannot be successfully hidden that such a vote is a vote for monopoly, for where the tariff has been made the shelter from behind which the trusts have raised prices and exacted a tribute from our people, it cannot be denied that the way to deal with such trusts is by depriving them of the shelter of tariff protection. We must do it if we do not want to lend the strong arm of the Government to the powerful to oppress the weak, if we do not want to lend governmental aid to the trusts to enable them to more successfully collect a tribute from our people.

IT MAY be that something more will be needed to protect our people against the aggressions of the trusts than the suspension of protective tariff duties on articles monopolized by such trusts. But it is certainly folly to strive to save our people from being preyed upon by trusts while putting a weapon in the hands of the trusts for their oppression. Therefore our first step is unquestionably to deprive trusts of the protection of tariff duties. Other steps may have to follow. If we cannot secure our people in the enjoyment of the fruits of their toil, if we cannot protect them from exactions imposed for the aggrandizement of the few now organized in trusts in any other way, the government must assume the ownership and control of the monopolies it cannot destroy. The first duty of a government, founded on the equality of man, is to secure to all men an equal opportunity in the pursuit of and enjoyment of wealth, and where there is monopoly such equal opportunity cannot exist. Therefore it is the bounden duty of our government to destroy monopoly where it can be, and where it cannot be destroyed, where nature makes a monopoly, or the nature of the business, such as railroading, creates a monopoly, such monopoly must not be left in private hands to be used to exact a tribute from our people, but must be taken by the government and operated for the advantage of all our people without preference.

We now experience in our trusts all the conceivable ills of socialism. Our great trusts, monopolizing production, squeezing out independent producers, controlling the markets and fixing prices are nothing less than individual socialism run rampant. And individual socialism operates for the profit of the individual and the impoverishment of the many, it is a tax of the whole people to be divided among the few, not a tax of the whole people

for the profit of the whole as is national socialism. Thus we are reaping all the evils of socialism and none of the benefits. We are having the lines drawn between individual and national socialism. Those who are building up our trusts are forcing the issue, they are paving the way to the national ownership of all those industries now controlled by trusts. Either these trusts, these examples of individual socialism, must be destroyed or they must be replaced by national socialism. If we are to have socialism we must have national socialism where the profits of monopoly are distributed among the whole people, not individual socialism where the profits of monopoly exacted from the whole people accrue to the individual. It is preferable to destroy trusts, to destroy private monopoly, to wipe monopoly out altogether and thus secure a continuance of free competition, that spur to the progress of the human race, than to replace private monopoly with government monopoly. But as Senator Pettigrew said in pressing his anti-trust amendment, better socialism than despotism.

As we have said, Republicans bent on having a monopoly tariff, but very naturally not caring to avow themselves as champions of monopoly and oppressors of the public, put their opposition to Senator Pettigrew's amendment on the ground that it would destroy the tariff bill as a revenue measure. But there was no reason for opposition on this score. The adoption of an amendment to the tariff directing the courts to suspend protective tariff duties when it shall be shown that protective duties imposed for the purpose of stimulating competition and lessening the cost of the protected articles, have become the shelter of a trust or combine organized to restrict competition and keep up prices, would not appreciably detract from the tariff as a revenue measure, for the products that are monopolized by the trusts are not imported to any great extent, and, of course, but little revenue is collected from such articles. It is not the aim of our domestic trusts to put up prices so as to invite foreign competition. To do so would destroy their monopoly, and lose to them the profits of monopoly. So their aim is to put prices as high as they can be put without inviting foreign competition. Self interest dictates this. Consequently, imports of products controlled by domestic monopoly and revenue derived therefrom are of necessity small. Senator Pettigrew estimated the total possible loss of income from the adoption of his amendment at \$8,000,000, not much to pay for freeing our people from the exactions of trusts.

An instance of the effect of such an amendment on revenue, the possible loss to our people in their government capacity and their probable gain in their individual capacity may not be amiss. Under the new tariff the revenue from sugar after the first year, and upon normal imports, would be about \$60,000,000. Now we use about 4,000,000,000 pounds of sugar a year, much the greater part of which we import from abroad as raw sugar. Last year our imports of refined sugar came to but 197,345,064 pounds, and this was a large importation. It is on importations of refined sugars that a differential duty, protective of the Sugar Trust, and that would be repealed through the agency of the court by the adoption of an amendment such as Senator Pettigrew's is placed. This differential is about one-fifth of a cent a pound, that is, the duty on refined sugar is 1.95 cents a pound and the duty on the raw sugar that it takes to make the pound of refined about 1.75 cents. It would be this latter rate that, with an anti-trust amendment enforced, would be collected on imports of refined sugar, and on a basis of last year's importations this would bring the Government \$394,690 less of revenue than would be realized in the absence of such amendment. Of course, the rate of duty on raw sugar would remain undisturbed. So from the adoption of an anti-trust amendment such as that of Senator Pettigrew, unfortunately defeated, the loss of revenue to the Government on the sugar schedule, a schedule estimated to yield \$60,000,000 of



revenue, would be less than \$400,000, while the gain to our people in the shape of a reduced price for their sugar, and freed from a tribute of 1.5 cent a pound on the 4,000,000,000 lbs. of sugar which they consume, and which tribute the new tariff proposes to impose for the benefit of the Trust, would be about \$8,000,000. And for a gain of \$8,000,000 in their individual capacity our people could well afford to lose \$400,000 of revenue in their corporate capacity.

ANOTHER objection to the anti-trust amendment was that it would destroy the protective features of the bill, deprive independent producers as well as the trusts of protection. Thus it was asserted that the beet industry would be deprived of protection and ruined by the adoption of the amendment. Such assertion was folly. The protection accorded the producer of beet sugar would not have been affected at all. He would get just as high protection with the anti-trust amendment in the bill as he would without. This objection to Mr. Pettigrew's amendment rested upon an entire and inexcusable misconception of its scope. This misconception is that Senator Pettigrew's amendment proposed to put all products controlled by a trust or combine on the free list. It proposed to put them on the free list only when the raw products used in production are on the free list. When the raw products used are dutiable, an equivalent rate of duty would be placed on the finished product. So to assert, as the Washington correspondent of the *Philadelphia Press* did, that this amendment would have put refined sugar on the free list is quite outside of the truth. The incorporation of such amendment in the tariff bill would have simply taken the differential duty in favor of the Sugar Trust off the refined sugar and reduced the rate of duty from 1.95 cents to say 1.75 cents a pound, or whatever might be the equivalent of the rate of duty collected on raw sugar.

IN short, there was no valid objection to an anti-trust amendment save that it would deprive the trusts of the assistance of the Government in laying a tribute on our people. And assuredly it is not the part of our Government to lend assistance to the strong for the oppression of the weak. So we find the Republicans much worried over this amendment. In their dilemma they have put it off, temporized by voting to table Senator Pettigrew's amendment under Mr. Allison's promise that the Finance Committee would take up the question, and later submit a substitute amendment. This promise made the way clear for the weak-kneed Republican brethren, who had blustered in caucus with the result of having the Pettigrew amendment referred to the Republican members of the Judiciary Committee, all to gain time, and feeling that they ought to vote for such an amendment as good protectionist doctrine, and without regard to the caucus decision, to vote to table the Pettigrew amendment, calming their qualms of conscience behind the subterfuge that they were only postponing the consideration of the amendment to a more opportune time, and when a substitute amendment could be presented with the backing of the Senate Finance Committee. What Mr. Allison's promise is worth we shall see. We fancy it is worth nothing, and that the substitute anti-trust amendment that the Finance Committee will offer will be lacking in force and so framed as to be practically inoperative. But, come what may, Republican Senators cannot disguise it from themselves or their constituents that in voting to table Senator Pettigrew's anti-trust amendment they lined up as the champions of a tariff for monopoly.

THE opposition to the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty with Hawaii, under which sugar comes in free of duty from that island, has brought to the fore a proposition for the payment of a bounty on beet sugar. It is pointed out that sugar in Hawaii

is raised by cheap coolie labor, and that without the encouragement of a bounty, it is quite out of the question for the beet sugar industry to take firm root on the Pacific coast. Objections to such a bounty have been many, the difficulties in the way great, and the proposition has been frowned upon by the Republican caucus.

Yet not to make some such provision seems like gross discrimination against the Pacific slope, where Hawaiian sugars compete. The beet sugar industry east of the Rockies would be protected from competition with German beet sugars or Cuban cane sugars by a tariff duty of from one to one and three-quarter cents a pound, according to grade. But the beet sugar grown on the Pacific coast, competing with Hawaiian sugars, coming in under the reciprocity treaty, free of duty, would have no protection at all. So it would seem that the new tariff would protect the Eastern beet grower and not the Western. Clearly inequitable. But there are difficulties, apparently insurmountable, to equalize these conditions by the payment of a bounty, for the national government cannot pay a bounty to the beet grower west of the Rockies and not to the beet grower east. A bounty must be paid to all or none, and so the advantage of the Eastern beet grower over his Western brother would be continued. So it would seem that the only way to give equitable encouragement to the beet sugar producer on the Pacific slope is to put a duty on importations of Hawaiian sugar.

BEFORE we could extend our customs rates on sugars to importations from Hawaii, we would, of course, have to abrogate the reciprocity treaty with that island. And to this there is strenuous objection both on economic and political grounds. The political objections are of weight, the economic are not worthy of consideration. The one great beneficiary of the reciprocity treaty is the Spreckels family, whose refineries are, to all intents and purposes, the western branch of the Sugar Trust. These refineries reap an enormous profit from the reciprocity arrangement. Under the new tariff this profit would be close to one and three-quarter cents on every pound of sugar refined. In short, the cost of making sugar at the Spreckels refineries would be  $1\frac{3}{4}$  cents less a pound, than if the Hawaiian sugars were made subject to the same duty put on other sugars. And the public does not profit from this lessened cost of production. The profit goes to the Spreckels family.

But there is yet more to this reciprocity arrangement. For the last fiscal year we bought from Hawaii \$11,757,704 worth of products, almost entirely sugar, and sold her goods of the value of \$3,985,707. This year we have bought much more, our purchases varying from year to year with the sugar crop. But on the whole, Hawaii sells us about \$8,000,000 more of produce than she buys from us. But this does not put us in debt to Hawaii. This \$8,000,000 or so is drawn away from Hawaii every year as the profits of the sugar plantations owned in the United States, largely the Spreckels interests. Without the free markets for sugars in the United States, Hawaiian sugar would not bring such good prices, and the profits would not be so large. So we see who gets the profit of the reciprocity arrangement with Hawaii. It is not the general public on the Pacific Coast but the Spreckels interests, and there is no important economic end served by the continuance of this arrangement, other than the payment of a great bonus to the Spreckels family. The revenue the government would get from imports of Hawaiian sugar, if there were no reciprocity arrangement, goes into the Spreckels' pockets. That is what we get out of the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty. The Government suffers loss of revenue, the consumer of sugar gets nothing, Spreckels gets all.

THE political reason for the continuance of this reciprocity arrangement is simply that Hawaii is and must be kept an Amer-

ican island. We cannot afford to let any other nation get a hold there. The question of the annexation of the islands now presented is a serious one. For strategic reasons we want and must have the islands. Their importance, from a military point of view, is now great; when an inter-ocean canal shall be built across the Isthmus of Panama, their importance will be greatly magnified.

But what to do with the islands, how to govern them, is a serious question. Peopled largely by a growing population of Chinese and Japanese and a dwindling race of natives, the white population making scarcely a respectable minority, the admission of the islands into the sisterhood of American states is quite out of the question. We cannot have an oriental state in our body politic. What is more, the rule of the majority cannot be recognized in Hawaii. The minority of whites, almost insignificant in numbers, does rule, and must continue to rule, the island. In short, we have a white aristocracy dominating over a motley of inferior races, who are but little better than slaves. Thus is the whole social system repugnant to our institutions, and such a multi-colored segment can never become an integral part of our nation.

We must have the islands for military reasons, we want them for none other, and it would seem that a government in accord with such reasons, and organized to carry out those ends, would meet the requirements of the situation.

THE tentative abandonment of the proposition to put a duty on tea and increase the tax on beer, as suggested in Senator Aldrich's draft of the Dingley bill has set our national legislators to work seeking for something new to tax. It is generally admitted that it is necessary to look beyond the tariff for part of the increase of revenues needed to cover the present rate of deficiency, that revision of the internal revenue laws must be made along with the revision of the tariff in order to raise sufficient revenue to meet the needs of the Government. As a result of this seeking after new sources of revenue the general question of taxation has come up for considerable discussion.

How can we raise the needed increase of taxation so as to equitably distribute the burden? That is the question. It is the question of all taxation. One great body of revenue reformers can find no better source of taxation than that proposed in the first instance by the Senate Finance Committee, to wit: a duty on tea and an increased tax on beer and tobacco. Such taxes we are told would be equitable. The *New York World* lays it down that: "If we had a duty on tea, every cent paid by the consumer under it would go into the Treasury to meet the expenses of the Government. If we had an increased tax on beer or tobacco every cent of it would go into the Treasury for a like purpose." But because every cent of taxation derived from such sources would find its way into the Treasury is not conclusive that the burden of such taxes would be equitably distributed. As a matter of fact, a duty on tea or an increased tax on beer would rest most inequitably, for it would tax the poor man as heavily as the rich, tax the man with much property no more than the man with none.

THE Democratic members of the Senate Finance Committee have advanced a much more equitable tax, in fact a most equitable tax. As an amendment to the tariff bill they have proposed an inheritance tax of 2 per cent. on all estates of \$5000 and upwards. This is a source of taxation much made use of by the various states. But, of course, there is no reason in this why the National Government should not also avail of it. We are much inclined to believe, however, that the same court that held the income tax to be unconstitutional would hold an inheritance tax to be unconstitutional, and for the same reason, namely, that both taxes are direct taxes, which under the Constitution must be apportioned among the several states of the Union according

to their respective numbers. This provision of the Constitution prevents the United States from imposing an equitable direct tax that would fall among the people of the United States in proportion to their wealth. This for the reason that the wealth of some of the states is four times as great per capita as some others, and under the provision of the Constitution apportioning direct taxes according to population, the property in the poorer states would have to bear four times as heavy a burden as the property in the rich. Therefore, it is quite out of the question for the Government to devise an equitable direct tax and it has ever placed reliance in indirect taxes.

To the layman it seems quite impossible that misunderstanding should arise over the line of demarkation between direct and indirect taxation. A direct tax would seem to be one where the taxpayer paid the tax directly to the tax gatherer or the government. An indirect tax would seem to be one where the taxpayer pays the tax not to the tax gatherer, but to some intermediary person, in the shape of an enhanced price for some purchase, the intermediary person passing the tax on to the Government. Thus an assessed tax on real estate, paid directly by the taxpayer to the collector is unquestionably a direct tax, and it would seem that an income tax assessed on the individual and paid directly by the assessed person to the government would also be a direct tax. And an inheritance tax would come in the same category. On the other hand, a duty on tea, paid to the government by the importer, but collected by the importer from the consumer in the shape of an enhanced price, would unquestionably be an indirect tax. A tax on beer and tobacco, being passed on to the consumer, comes, of course, in the same category.

Thus it is that an indirect tax, being paid by consumers as an enhanced price for what they buy, is often paid by the taxpayer without knowing it, though feeling it, but the taxpayer always knows when he pays a direct tax. Thus we might distinguish between direct and indirect taxes as seen and unseen taxes. An indirect tax is collected without being called to the attention of the tax-payer, who makes no note of it; the direct tax is never collected without an acknowledgment being made. These tests applied to taxes would clearly put an income and an inheritance tax in the category of direct taxes, and unconstitutional as not being apportioned among the states according to population.

BUT in interpreting the constitution the Supreme Court has ever been guided by the intent of the framers of that instrument. The question, therefore, is with what intent did the framers of the constitution use the word direct tax. It was for a long time thought that the word direct tax, as used in the constitution, meant per capita taxes and taxes on real estate, and none other. Indeed, early in the existence of the nation the Supreme Court placed this interpretation on the constitution. Congress, in which were many men who took part in framing the constitution, passed a law in 1792 taxing carriages, not only in the makers' hands, which might fairly be called an indirect tax, but in the user's hands, which is strictly a direct tax. Madison opposed the tax on the floor of Congress on the ground of unconstitutionality, but other members who had taken part in the Constitutional Convention held emphatically to the other opinion. The Supreme Court declared it to be constitutional. Later the Supreme Court affirmed the constitutionality of an income tax, but two years since, by a bare majority, reversed this decision, holding that the framers of the constitution, being patriotic and outspoken men without any insidious purposes, can not fairly be assumed to have used the word direct tax with any hidden intent, and that the word must be taken in its common meaning, there being no evidence that the framers of the constitution attached to it any other meaning.

As a matter of fact it is extremely doubtful if the framers of



the Constitution gave any definite meaning to the word direct tax, the very inhibition of the National Government to impose direct taxes, save by apportionment among the states according to population, having gotten into the Constitution by accident, not intent. For this reason we are inclined to think the Supreme Court to be in error in its decision on the income tax.

It was on July 12, 1787. The Constitutional Convention was at loggerheads over the representation to be accorded the southern states for their slave population. South Carolina and Georgia, where the institution had a firm hold, were insistent that the slave population be counted man for man as a basis of representation. North Carolina and Virginia, where slavery was regarded as a baleful inheritance, following the lead of Mason, repudiated the motion of the extreme south. "The motion," said Mason, "is favorable to Virginia, but I think it unjust. As slaves are useful to the community at large, they ought not to be excluded from the estimate for representation; I cannot, however, vote for them as equals to free men." The motion was rejected and feeling ran high.

"The aspect of affairs at the adjournment," we quote from Bancroft, "was not so dangerous as it seemed. Virginia, with a united delegation, had her hand on the helm, while North Carolina kept watch at her side. But Gouverneur Morris brooded over the deep gulf by which the convention seemed to him rent in twain, and rashly undertook to build a bridge over the chasm. To that end he proposed next morning that taxation should be in proportion to representation. His motion was general, extending to every branch of revenue. The convention was taken by surprise. South Carolina scorned to be driven from her object by the menace of increased contributions to the general treasury, and again demanded a full representation of blacks. Mason pointed out that the proposal of Gouverneur Morris would so embarrass the legislature in raising a revenue that they would be driven back to requisitions on the states. Appalled at discovering that his motion was a death blow to the new constitution, Morris limited it to direct taxation, saying, 'It would be inapplicable to indirect taxes on exports and imports, and consumption.' Cotesworth Pinkney took fire at the idea of taxing exports. Wilson came to the partial rescue of Morris, and the convention, without a dissentient, agreed that 'direct taxation ought to be in proportion to representation.' In this short interlude, by the temerity of one man, the United States were precluded from deriving an equitable income from real property. Morris soon saw what evil he had wrought, but he vainly strove to retrieve it."

Thus we see how by mere chance, not design, the provision requiring all direct taxes to be apportioned among the states according to population found its way into the Constitution.

MR. SWANK, General Manager of the American Iron and Steel Association, reiterates, in his report for 1897, a cause for industrial depression that he has often harped upon before, "It has been operative for many years, certainly since 1890, and may be briefly defined to be the pressure upon prices and profits of a capacity for production in mining, manufactures and agriculture that is greatly in excess of our consuming capacity, even in so-called good times when consumption may be said to be at its maximum."

Too many mines, too many mills, too many farms, therein lies the cause of our suffering, of the want among our people. There is no remedy save to wait, and perhaps after a time consumption will catch up with the capacity to produce. So let us suffer and be content. Pearls of wisdom.

THE completion of any reign of sixty years would be a noteworthy event. The Victorian celebration merits special consideration, because, next after that of Elizabeth, the present

Queen's reign has been the most brilliant in all respects of the whole line of British sovereigns, always excepting the insufficiently-remembered personal achievements of Alfred the Great. Queen Victoria has lacked the strong individuality of Queen Bess, and is less entitled to personal glorification than that model embodiment of feminine masculinity. Where the one was brainy the other has been good, the former queenly in the showier sense, the latter womanly in heart and conduct. The Victorian age confers more lustre on Victoria than even so excellent a Queen could possibly, in these prosaic days, have conferred upon it. Figure-heads are moved by the vessels they ornament, and the progress so largely due to steam would doubtless have made equal headway under another monarch or under a republic. But this in nowise lessens the public and private respect our people freely express for the English sovereign, not because she wears an inherited crown, but because she is a good woman in a trying position, and has won a strong hold upon the affections of her people wherever the British empire extends. Americans look around the kingdoms of the earth, and, after they have scanned the wielders of sceptres and their ways, they turn their eyes to England, and can with unaffected cordiality say amen to its people's prayer—"God bless the Queen!"

#### A NEW TARIFF QUESTION TO THE FORE.

DOES the burden of protection fall upon the farmer but confer upon him no benefit? Does he pay the cost of protection and reap no profit? If so, the protective tariff system is inequitable and indefensible, for it is a tax of one class for the benefit of another. And such tax has, or should have, no place under our Government, or any other that has a regard for justice and equality. Where Government is an instrument of oppression, an instrument for the uplifting, the enriching of the few, at the expense of the downtrodden many we would expect to find such a tax, but where government is an instrument of justice, never. So the question rears itself: Is the protective system such a tax, a tax for the enriching of the few upon the downtrodding of the many? for if it is our Government, lauded though it is as holding out to the poor and weak and unknown the same opportunities as to the rich, the powerful and the great, lauded as putting all men upon a plane of equality before the law, is an oppressor, not the protector of the many.

Such was the tenor of Senator Cannon's arraignment of the protective system when suggesting the payment of export bounties on agricultural products as a measure of justice to our farming population. The manufacturer suffers from foreign competition in our own markets and we protect him from such competition by rearing import duties. The farmer knows no appreciable foreign competition in our home market, but he suffers most severe competition in the European markets, where he disposes of his surplus products in open market and free competition with the products raised by the degraded labor of India and Egypt and Russia and Argentine. And from such competition no tariff on imports can save our farmers, for it is in our export trade and in markets that we cannot protect by tariff legislation that the competition is met with. So the farmer, argued the Senator, gets no protection from high tariff, yet high tariff does protect our manufacturers, does preserve to them our home market, has enabled them to raise prices and reap profits that our agricultural population, buying the goods, must pay.

So the farmer is taxed for the manufacturer's profit. If the manufacturer is entitled to protection against foreign competition, the farmer is entitled to equal protection. A protective system that does not extend this equal protection, distribute its benefits equally, is inequitable, and as the manufacturer suffers from foreign competition, which he meets at home, where he can be and is protected by tariff legislation, while the farmer, meet-

ing foreign competition in foreign markets, can only be protected by the payment of export bounties, the protective legislation that does not provide for the payment of bounties on the export of agricultural products is inequitable, for if you raise tariff duties for the benefit of the manufacturer, and at the expense of the farmer, obliged to pay enhanced prices for the goods he buys, equity demands that he be recompensed for the increased cost of what he buys by being secured increased prices for what he sells.

All this was forcibly urged by Senator Cannon and the few supporters of his bounty amendment to the tariff bill. The Republicans looked askance at the amendment, as well they might, in view of their support of a monopoly tariff. No Republican Senator rose in his seat to combat Mr. Cannon's arguments, no one denied, no one could deny, that if it is just to tax our people as consumers of manufactured goods for the benefit of the makers, it is just, only right, to tax them as consumers of agricultural products for the benefit of the raisers; that, to put it in a restricted sense, if it is just to tax the farmer for the benefit of the manufacturer it is just to tax the manufacturer for the benefit of the farmer. No Republican Senator could deny this, nor could any Republican Senator supporting a monopoly tariff, supporting a tariff that extends protection to trusts and combines, deny that such tariff would rest as a tax upon our farmers, among other consumers of manufactured goods, for the profit of those who have organized their industries into trusts and combines aiming to restrict competition and exact an undue price for their products.

So the Republicans sat uneasily while Senator Cannon, ably seconded by Senator Tillman, who has shown himself to be no free trader, arraigned the protective system, as we know it, and proposed his amendment for the payment of bounties on exports of agricultural products. Having lost sight of the true purpose of a protective tariff, having come to regard the purpose of the protective system to be to foster domestic monopoly and enable manufacturers to enhance the prices for their products by the exclusion of foreign goods, not to stimulate domestic competition and bring down prices to a level commensurate with the costs of production, having come to look upon protection as a system devised for the benefit of the few, not of the general public, Republican Senators had no defense to offer for their tariff when attacked by Senator Cannon in this way. Having made their position vulnerable, they had no defense to offer. But they none the less voted solidly against Senator Cannon's amendment, as did the Democrats, with two exceptions, the support of the amendment coming from the Populists. So the proposition for the payment of bounties on agricultural products was overwhelmingly defeated.

But a new tariff question has been none the less pushed to the fore. The question between a truly protective tariff, a tariff protective of all interests, of all classes, conferring benefits upon all and weighing upon none, and a tariff protective of monopoly, has been made paramount in tariff discussion. The question of free trade can scarcely be said to figure longer. But the new question, and a question that may resolve itself into free trade, has come to take its place. If the tariff is to be built for the protection of monopoly, built for the protection of trusts and combines, and without regard to the consumer, then the payment of bounties on exports of agricultural products will become an irrepressible question, a question that the Republicans cannot put aside, that will arise to divide their ranks and render them powerless, and lead to the abandonment of the principle of protection now seemingly recognized by a goodly part of the Democratic party. But if the protective system can be cleared of the taint that attaches to it, the fostering of monopoly, if the protection of tariff duties is scrupulously withdrawn from industries the moment that they organize into trusts, or pools, or combines, with the view of restricting competition and securing the ability

of exacting monopoly prices for their products, prices fixed not by competition, not by the costs of production, but by their control of the market, then the protective system will come to stay. If it is to be protection of the whole people, protection will come to stay; if it is to be protection of monopoly, the protective system, thus used to defeat its own ends, will die.

Moreover, protection of the whole people is not to be secured by the payment of export bounties on agricultural products. We cannot, by such means, right the wrongs of a monopoly tariff. We protect the Sugar Trust, and enable that trust to exact a tax from the farmer of one-fifth cent a pound on every pound of sugar he buys. We cannot right this wrong, and it certainly is a wrong to allow one man to tax another, by taxing our people for the benefit of the farmer. It might lighten the burden of the farmer, it might return in a measure that which is taxed from him for the benefit of the trusts, in the shape of the enhancement of the prices he pays for the goods he buys of monopoly, but it is a hopeless task to strive to tax from the trusts and give back to the farmers that which such trusts have exacted. We might pay the farmer a bounty, and levy a tax to pay that bounty. But that tax would be paid, not by the trusts profiting at the farmers' expense, but by the wage-earner, the merchant, the miner, the farmer himself. One injustice, and we repeat it is an injustice to tax any man or class for the benefit of another, can never be rectified by the doing of another. Two wrongs cannot make a right.

If to raise a tariff system with the purpose, or at least the result, of putting it in the power of the protected manufacturers to lay a tax on all consumers of their goods is just, it would certainly be just and right to tax the people for the benefit of the agricultural classes. We repeat if it is right to tax the farmers for the benefit of the manufacturers, it would be right to tax our manufacturers for the benefit of our farmers. But it is not right. A tariff system that results in taxing our farming population for the benefit of the manufacturers is not right. And a true protective tariff will not have this result. The moment manufacturers organize to restrict competition, and take advantage of tariff duties to enhance prices and tax consumers, the tariff duties imposed for protection, with the purpose of stimulating competition and reducing prices, but failing of their purpose, should be repealed.

But it is true that protective tariff duties have been, and are made, the shelter of trusts and combines, have resulted in raising prices above the legitimate costs of production and to a monopoly level, have added to the costs of many articles the farmer buys, and thus taxed the farmer for the benefit and profit of those who have organized their industries into trusts and combines. And thus has the tariff led to the enrichment of the few, and the impoverishment of the many, thus has it resulted in putting a tax on our farmers for the benefit of the favored. But the remedy is not to be found in putting a further tax on our people for the benefit of the farmer. We do not want to tax our people for the benefit of any class, and the remedy for the injustice done our farmers, by a monopoly tariff that takes out of their pockets for the profit of monopoly, is not to attempt the fruitless task of replenishing those pockets by a tax on our people, but to repeal the monopoly tariff that has drained their pockets.

But it is said that this would mean the repeal of all protective tariff legislation, mean free trade. Not at all. It would mean the building up of a true protective system, a system reared for the benefit of the consumer equally with the producer and that would not rest as a burden on the consumer, that would reduce, not enhance, the cost of manufactured goods, and would therefore benefit, not tax, the farmer. But we hear it said, if a protective tariff results in cheapening, not raising the cost of the protected goods, if it indeed results in the supplying of our own wants by our own people at less than the previous cost of supplying them from abroad, what need of a protective tariff?



Surely if our people can manufacture and sell more cheaply than foreigners, they need no protection? But this is overlooking the point. It is not that they can manufacture and sell cheaper than the foreign manufacturer having the advantage of cheap capital and cheap labor, but that they *can* manufacture and sell cheaper than the foreigner *will* while he has a monopoly of our market, and we are dependent upon him for our supplies. Let us undertake to develop our own resources, supply our own needs, threaten this monopoly, and the foreigner with his cheap labor and cheap capital will be on the *qui vive* to keep us dependent upon him, in that dependency from which he has so greatly profited. So he will reduce prices, perhaps even below the cost of production, resolved on crushing out the growing competition. This competition crushed out, back again would go prices to the level of monopoly.

So we have the need of protection, not to protect our industries from competition at prices asked by foreign producers when having a monopoly of our markets, but from competition at prices fixed when their monopoly is threatened by the building of domestic industries. This severe foreign competition engendered by the very development of our resources, our industries could not, unprotected, have successfully met. Hence the need of a protective tariff.

And a tariff imposed for this purpose and with this result is a benefit not a burden to consumers. It may result in maintaining prices at a level considerably above that asked by foreign producers, but the price asked by the foreigner in view of this domestic competition is not the price he would ask if meeting none. But to bring about these desired ends there must be free domestic competition such as will result in keeping prices down to the costs of production plus a fair rate of profit. Without this competition the price will be kept up just as high as it can be kept without inviting foreign competition. So when this competition is stifled by domestic organizations, trusts, combines, for its restriction, the aims, the benefits of protection are lost, for then the cost of the protected goods to the consumer is raised not lessened.

A protective tariff should, then, result in reducing not enhancing the cost of manufactured goods, it should lessen not increase the burdens falling upon our farmers; if it does not it is not truly protective, it is protective of class interests, not the general weal, it has failed of its purpose and should be repealed. Therefore, the reason, from a protectionist's standpoint, for the adoption of Senator Pettigrew's anti-trust amendment empowering the courts to suspend all protective tariff duties imposed on articles, the production of which has fallen under the control of domestic trusts and combines organized to repress competition and raise prices. The adoption of such an amendment would strip the tariff of its monopoly features and make it a tolerable, although still ill-conceived measure.

But a tariff protective of the whole people, aimed to benefit the consumer no less than the producer, the Republicans seemingly do not want. They seemingly want a tariff that will tax the consumer for the profit of domestic monopoly. We see this evidenced in the scrupulous care taken of the Sugar Trust. So they had no sound ground for opposition to Senator Cannon's proposition, perhaps it would be better to say David Lubin's proposition, for the payment of bounties on agricultural exports. And as we have said they contented themselves with a silent opposition. They could have offered none other that would have been effective, for they propose a tariff that unquestionably aims to put a tax on consumers, our farmers among the rest, for the profit of our numerous trusts. And surely if we are going to tax the farmer for the benefit of the trusts we should make it good to him somehow.

We have shown that the way to do justice to the farmer is not to tax the people for his benefit, which would be class legislation, but to prevent the trusts from taxing him for their

benefit. But we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the position of the farmer is sadly deplorable. The cost of a monopoly tariff does, in great part, fall upon him in the shape of unduly enhanced prices for some kinds of manufactured goods. The tariff system that makes this possible is grossly unjust. But do away with this injustice by suspending all tariff duties behind which trusts have sheltered and that have been used to enhance prices, and the condition of the farmer would be but little ameliorated. True, he would no longer be taxed by the tariff system for the benefit of monopoly, but he would still stumble under the many-fold more grievous tax of our monetary system, a tax for the benefit of our foreign creditors. And from this tax all our people, save those whose purpose in life is not to produce but to squeeze from others the products of their labor, would suffer, and it is not equitable, or right, or tolerable to put a tax on all these sufferers for the benefit of our agricultural population.

It is true our farmers have suffered more grievously from the false monetary policy that we have pursued than any other class of producers, but there is no warrant in this for imposing a tax for their benefit on the lesser sufferers, sufferers who have not gained at the farmers' expense. And in justice to the supporters of the export bounty idea, let it be said that they do not advocate the payment of agricultural bounties on this ground. They justify and advocate export bounties, on the ground that the farmer bears a share of the cost of the protective system but reaps no benefit and that, therefore, he should be recompensed. Therefore, with a true protective system restored, such as would benefit, not tax, the farmer, there would be no ground upon which to advocate the payment of export bounties on agricultural products, for there would be no justice or equity in such payment.

But, as we have said, it is the misfortune of our farmers to have suffered most grievously of all producing classes from our pursuit of a monetary system false to our interests. They have to sell quite one-fourth of their products in foreign markets and they have had of necessity to accept prices fixed in those markets in competition with all the world. Against such competition no tariff could or ever can protect them. So long as we have to seek a market abroad for a part of our agricultural products, prices for our products must be fixed in those markets. And the prices we get for the surplus will fix the prices for that part of our products sold for domestic consumption, for no wheat or cotton factor will sell wheat or cotton for domestic consumption for a less price than he can realize by sending it abroad, nor can he command a higher price for what is sold at home than he can get for what is sold abroad, for no man will export wheat or cotton when he can sell it for more at home than he can abroad. And as we export one-third of our wheat and two-thirds of our cotton, any check to exportation must ever result in a congestion of our home markets and a forcing down of prices to what is equivalent to the foreign level, at which price the congestion would be relieved by exportation.

So it is that prices of our agricultural products, all our staples excepting wool, are fixed in the European markets, and in competition with the producers of the whole world. And this competition has been made especially severe by our tampering with our monetary system. Discarding silver we have thrown double the burden on gold, and gold has become doubly as valuable, though we still insist on regarding it as fixed, regarding gold as fixed while all other commodities have dropped in price by an average of over half in the last twenty-five years, and we still insist on the payment of all debts in this doubly valuable gold just as if nothing had happened. The result is that the burdens resting on our farmers as all other producers have been doubled. The burdens resting on producers in silver-using countries have not increased at all, for they pay in silver and silver costs no more, measured by the products of labor, than it did before we

commenced to tamper with our monetary standard. Consequently our silver-using competitors are enjoying a great advantage over us, for we have deliberately doubled our debts, and thus put ourselves under a most serious handicap. In effect our competitors, because of our folly, are enjoying a bounty on their exports to gold-using countries of 100 per cent. Their cost of production, measured in silver, has remained the same while silver has depreciated by 50 per cent., or as they put it gold gone to a premium of 100 per cent. So they can sell their produce quite profitably to-day for one-half the price in gold that they asked in 1873. We cannot but we have had to. The result is the profits of our farmers and planters have been wiped out and they travel the road to bankruptcy.

So we see the great cause of agricultural depression is that our competitors enjoy a bounty of 100 per cent. in the shape of a premium on gold. Now, passing over all question of the justice or injustice of taxing our people to pay a bounty on agricultural exports, how can the payment of a bounty of from 10 to 15 per cent. on agricultural products—such are the approximate rates proposed by Mr. Cannon—equalize the bounty of 100 per cent. enjoyed by our competitors? Obviously it cannot. If we are going about equalizing conditions in this way, we must pay a bounty of 100 per cent., for that is the bounty enjoyed by our competitors, and we fancy no one would go so far as to propose that we pay a bounty of \$600,000,000 a year on exports of agricultural products, that we tax ourselves and pay to the exporters of farm products a sum nearly double the ordinary expenses of the national government. The proper and only feasible way to put our farmers and planters on an equality with their competitors is the restoration of bimetalism and the taking away from our competitors of the bounty they now enjoy in the shape of a premium on gold.

And, finally, just one more question. Is it likely that our farmers would profit from a bounty on exports? It is certain that France and Germany would protect their agriculturists by raising a discriminating duty against our products equivalent to the bounty, just as we now propose to raise a discriminating duty against bounty-paid German sugar. It is even probable that such action on our part would awaken England from her lethargy, and lead her to impose a duty on imports of our farm products, equivalent to our bounty rate, as a measure of protection not only for her own agriculturists, but the farmers of her colonial empire. Even if she did not, our farmers would profit nothing, for the competition in the British markets, owing to the discriminating duties of Continental Europe against our bounty-paid products, and the consequent diversion of our exports out of ordinary channels and into the British markets, would so accentuate competition as to force down prices, so that our farmers would lose the expected advantage of the bounty. The payment of bounties would but lead to competition with ourselves. Our taxation would but result in cheapening the cost of our products to the British consumer.

#### A FEW FACTS ABOUT OUR CURRENCY.

THE total amount of money, coin and paper, in the United States on June 1st last is given by the Treasury Department at \$2,376,519,014. But of this amount \$716,785,119 was in the Treasury vaults, leaving an amount of but \$1,659,733,895 in circulation, or an estimated per capita circulation of \$22.80; the population of the United States being calculated, on a basis of the increase during the last census decade, at 72,807,000, an estimate that, in view of the falling off in immigration and the prevailing hard times, must be considered as most liberal. On the other hand, the Treasury estimates of money in circulation are equally liberal, too liberal it would seem, by not less than \$300,000,000, so that the actual per capita of money in circulation is probably

under \$20. It is the habit of some men to deduct from the money in circulation the money held in reserve by the banks, and which amounts to about \$800,000,000, thus bringing down the per capita circulation to seven or eight dollars, or even less. But the money in the bank vaults, and which constitutes the all too narrow basis of ten times the amount of credits, is, in fact, in most active use and is more available for the purchase of merchandise and affords the facility for the exchange of a greater quantity of products than if it was actually passing from hand to hand.

Our currency is made up of gold coin which is alone full legal tender; of standard silver dollars, which are legal tender save when demonetized by private contract, which the Government authorizes any man to do, in fact, permits men to discredit its silver coinage; of greenbacks and treasury notes, which are legal tender like the silver dollars, that is, save when demonetized by private contract, and which are redeemable in gold or silver at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, but by custom in gold; of gold certificates, redeemable in gold but not legal tender; of silver certificates, issued in exchange for silver dollars and redeemable by law in silver dollars, and silver dollars alone, but which Mr. Gage, as Mr. Carlisle, considers the Government bound to redeem in gold on the ground that the Government is pledged to maintain the parity of gold and silver coin, and that refusal to redeem silver certificates in gold might send them to a discount or gold to a premium; of currency certificates, issued against deposits of greenbacks in the Treasury and redeemable in greenbacks; of national bank notes, redeemable in any lawful money of the United States, *i. e.*, gold coin, silver dollars, greenbacks or treasury notes; of subsidiary silver coin, halves, quarters and dimes, which are legal tender for \$5, and of minor coins of copper, bronze and nickel, legal tender up to 25 cents and redeemable in lawful money of the United States when presented in sums of more than twenty dollars.

To recapitulate, our currency is made up of gold coin which is unlimited legal tender; of silver dollars, greenbacks and treasury notes, which are legal tender for all debts save when payment is otherwise specified in the contract; of subsidiary silver coin legal tender up to five dollars; of minor coin legal tender up to 25 cents, and of gold certificates, silver certificates, currency certificates, and bank notes, which are not legal tender. The gold certificates are practically out of circulation, the issue having been suspended when the gold reserve fell below \$100,000,000, as directed by law, and not since resumed, though the gold reserve has stood above the hundred million limit for some months. Such gold certificates as are still outstanding are largely held by the banks. The currency certificates are issued in large denominations—\$5,000 and \$10,000—and solely for the convenience of the banks. But the silver certificates and bank notes make up the bulk of the currency in the hands of the people, and though not legal tender, are everywhere accepted without question.

Of gold coin there is said to be a stock in the country of \$675,389,655, of which \$155,167,732 was on June 1st held in the Treasury vaults, \$38,843,169 being held in trust for the redemption of an equal amount of gold certificates. These gold certificates were issued upon deposits of gold and for the convenience of the depositors, the government simply acting as a trustee, holding the gold so deposited for the redemption of the certificates. Five years ago there were upwards of \$140,000,000 of these certificates in circulation, but, as we have said, their issue has been stopped, and as they have been presented for redemption gradually withdrawn from circulation, so that on June 1st last there were but \$38,843,169 outstanding, and but \$37,387,829 in circulation, the difference being held in the Treasury vaults as a part of the cash reserve.

Besides the \$155,167,732 of gold coin in the Treasury on June 1st, there was gold bullion to the value of \$26,539,659 in the Treasury vaults.



It appears from the foregoing estimate of gold coin supposed to be in the country and the stock in the Treasury, that the Treasury estimates place the amount of gold in circulation on June 1st last, at \$520,221,923. But no such stock of gold can be accounted for. As long ago as 1888, the Director of the United States mint stated that "the most industrious inquiry failed to bring to light a very considerable portion of the gold estimated to be in the country," and that at least \$275,000,000 of the estimated stock could not be accounted for, that there was no evidence of its existence. And since then the discrepancy between the apparent and the estimated stock of gold coin in the country has grown. There is room for this great discrepancy in the methods of making up the Treasury estimates. At the close of the fiscal year 1872, the stock of gold coin was estimated at \$135,000,000, a very fair estimate. Since that time the official estimates have been compiled by adding to this initial stock the coinage of the mints, not including recoinage, and the gain by import of United States gold coin as registered at the custom houses, and by deducting the loss by export and an average allowance of \$3,500,000 used in the arts. No allowance at all has been made for the very considerable amount of gold coin carried out in the pockets of travellers, or, for the flow of our gold coin into Canada, where it is the recognized standard, a flow not recorded in great part in our customs returns, and the amount of gold coin used industrially is probably several times that estimated upon. So it is quite conceivable that the amount of gold coin in the country should fall short of the official estimates by from \$250,000,000 to \$300,000,000.

Of standard silver dollars, there were supposed to be in the country on June 1st, \$450,518,641, of which \$397,511,546 were in the Treasury. But of these silver dollars in the Treasury, \$374,345,504 had been deposited in exchange for silver certificates and were in such shape, to all intents and purposes, in circulation. They were not lying idly in the Treasury, only \$11,576,696 of these certificates being in the Treasury, the balance of the silver dollars, represented by certificates, and to an amount of \$362,768,808, being just as much in circulation as the 53,007,095 silver dollars said to be in the hands of the people.

In addition to this silver there was on June 1st last, a stock of \$76,517,908 of subsidiary silver, of which \$60,306,988 was estimated to be in circulation, the balance being held in the Treasury vaults.

Then we have what were originally regarded and treated as silver certificates, but since treated as greenbacks and gold obligations—namely, the treasury notes, issued for the purchase of silver bullion under the Sherman Act of 1890. This purchase was suspended with October, 1893, but prior to that time over \$156,000,000 of treasury notes had been issued in payment for silver. Some of the silver so bought has been coined and used to redeem the treasury notes, the notes so redeemed being retired from circulation, or rather replaced by silver certificates. Indeed, it is through the exchange of treasury notes of large denominations for silver certificates of small, that the retirement of some \$40,000,000 of these notes has been effected. Much of the silver purchased under this Act is still held in the shape of bars, there being silver bullion in the Treasury vaults on June 1st that cost \$106,042,492. Of the Treasury notes still outstanding, there were on June 1st \$115,782,280, of which \$86,641,406 were supposed to be in circulation.

Of United States notes, or greenbacks, there are said to be \$346,681,016. That there is any such amount no one believes, as, excepting \$1,000,000 estimated to have been destroyed in the Chicago fire, no allowance has been made for loss; and as these notes have been in circulation for more than a generation, the loss must have been very considerable. The same fault is to be found with the government estimates of other issues of money, gold and silver coin no less than paper money. If we deducted

\$50,000,000 from the government estimates, for loss, we would probably be well within the truth.

The greenbacks were put out during the war in three issues of \$150,000,000 each. They were issued in payment of the troops, for war material, for the sundry expenses of the Government, and at once found their way into circulation. They were made convertible into bonds, and after the war strenuous efforts were made to fund them and put them out of circulation. But there was much opposition to the policy of contraction; the gradual retirement of the greenbacks was only authorized to be checked, and again authorized to be finally checked, May 31, 1878, when \$346,681,016 were outstanding. They are supposed to be outstanding yet.

Of these notes, \$66,565,000 have been deposited by the banks in the Treasury in exchange for currency certificates and are, in effect, with the exception of the greenbacks, behind \$780,000 of currency certificates held by the Treasury, the property of the banks. In addition to the greenbacks so held in trust, the Government had in the Treasury on June 1st, as part of its cash balance, \$32,047,313, the amount of greenbacks in circulation being put down at \$248,848,703.

Add to the foregoing the national bank notes, issued to an amount of \$231,875,841, of which \$224,766,143 are put down as in circulation, and the minor coin that is not included in the Treasury estimates of circulation, and we have a complete summary of our currency system.

#### DEAR MONEY AND CHEAP MEN.

THE FARMER buys dollars, he buys clothing, fuel and shelter with wheat. If his neighbors, and the wheat producers of the whole world are his neighbors, have misfortunes with their wheat and scant crops, or if their corn or rye harvest is short, thus making an extra demand for wheat, wheat will be dear and it will buy much of other commodities. The dearer it is the more it will buy. And so it is with gold. If it is dear it will buy much, if it is cheap it will buy relatively little. And the same causes that make wheat dear, we speak not of money dearness but of dearness as compared with commodities in general, will make gold dear. Namely, a scarcity relatively to the demand, will make gold dear just as surely as it will make wheat dear, and if gold is dear it will buy much, and prices—for gold is fixed by law as money and all things are priced in gold, that is compared to one another in terms of gold—must be low.

Now everyone who has a commodity for sale seeks to buy dollars. Evidently the more men there are with commodities for sale and the greater the quantity of produce each has for sale, the greater must be the demand for dollars. So as population grows, as industries become more diversified, and men consuming less of that which they produce have more to be exchanged for the products of others, the greater will be the demand for dollars. In other words, as the world's trade grows the demand for money grows. And if the supply does not keep pace with this demand money will grow dearer and prices lower.

Clearly then, prices are in large measure dependent upon the volume of money, for when the supply falls short of the demand, which is another way of saying that there are more men with commodities to sell than there are men with money to buy, in other words more sellers than buyers, prices, under stress of competition, will fall. Or on the other hand, if the supply of money is greatly increased, so that it outruns the demand, prices must rise. The men who get the increased issues of money will spend it or invest it. Whether it be the gold miner who gets gold coin at the mints or whether it be a man who has supplied the government with services or materials and been paid by an issue of government paper; whoever gets issues of new money will use it. And to be used it must be spent for commodities.

The man who gets new issues of money, whether such issues be coin or paper, and whether he gets it in return for his labor spent in mining gold or for some service rendered the government, will take that money and purchase something with it. He may not directly purchase the products of others' labor, he may invest it, purchase some security, some railroad bond, some debt, but the man who borrows the money will use it in the purchase of the products of labor. And so an addition of the volume of money must lead to an increased demand for the products of labor and if this demand increases faster than the supply of commodities there will be competition among buyers and prices will rise.

So to increase the volume of money relatively to the demand is to cheapen money and raise prices; to prevent an increase of the volume of money commensurate with an increasing demand; to decrease in anyway the volume of money relatively to demand, it may be through actual contraction or through an increased demand, is to make money dear and cheapen men and the products of men's labor.

The world is so intimately connected, and transportation systems have been so perfected, that prices of transportable products bear a close connection the world over. Thus wheat, which can be readily transported, can hardly have a greater price in London than the cost of wheat in New York, or Odessa, or Melbourne, or Calcutta, or Buenos Ayres, plus the cost of transportation to London. The afore-mentioned places are the export ports of normally great wheat exporting countries. But if the harvests of such countries fail, as happened in the case of Australia and India last year, conditions are reversed. But as the result of such crop failures, the price of wheat in Melbourne, or Calcutta, could scarce rise above the San Francisco price plus the cost of shipping to Australia or India. So it is that prices all the world over bear a close relation. The difference in price can be no greater than the cost of transporting a product from where there is a surplusage to where there is a scarcity, for men will ever strive to dispose of their products where they can realize the most remunerative prices. The cost of transportation, and hence the limits for price differences are, of course, dependent in great degree upon the bulkiness and weight of different articles, relatively to their value. The greater the weight compared to the value, the greater, of course, may be the difference in price for the same commodity in different localities. Thus coal will vary greatly in price; wheat, which is much more valuable, pound for pound, much less, and such a valuable product as silver scarcely at all.

Of course some things are more readily transportable than others. The things that are least readily transportable are subject to the greatest variance in price. And labor is one of these things. Men cannot be transported with the little friction that their products can be carried over the globe. They cling with great tenacity to the land of their birth, some races have such an inbred love of their fatherlands, that they can scarce be expatriated, scarce be tempted to leave their homes. With other peoples again, emigration is much easier, but to such emigration, barriers, much more exacting than any customs tariffs, are often raised. Witness the Chinese Exclusion Act on our statute books.

So it is that wages, in different countries, vary greatly, not only nominally, but proportionately to the work accomplished. The Anglo-Saxon will, no doubt, accomplish more work in a given time than the Latin or the Slav. But for a given amount of money the Italian laborer in the River Platte country will accomplish more labor than the American farm hand; the Chinese coolie will, for the same sum, accomplish more than either. His labor may be illy directed; lack of intelligent direction, as in the cotton fields of the Yangste, may detract from the yield made by nature, both in quantity and quality, in return for his labor, but all this he will make up and more by working for a smaller money recompense.

Now, it is quite apparent that in such countries where the wealth produced by each laborer is much less than in the more advanced nations, and hence the produce to be exchanged less, a much smaller per capita circulation is needed than in the more progressive nations, in order to maintain approximately the same level of prices in all. Thus the gold price of wheat in India or Turkey, or of cotton in India or China, is approximately the same as in America, though the per capita circulation in those countries is much less. The figures of circulation, given in the Report of the Director of the United States Mint for 1896, are \$24.03 for the United States (latest estimate \$22.80), \$3.33 for India, \$2.08 for China, \$4.09 for Turkey.

But here it is proper to remark that though gold prices are approximately the same in these countries, the real prices received by the American agriculturist on the gold basis are very different from the prices received by the Chinese on the silver basis, or the Indian on the basis of the artificial value given the rupee by the closing of the Indian mints in 1893. The value of this rupee is suspended betwixt the value of gold and silver by the restriction placed on the coinage of silver. If the mints were opened, silver would be coined in great volume, and the increased supply would force down the value of the silver rupee. But so long as they are closed the demand for rupees falling upon a restricted supply must give the rupee an artificial value. It is an evidence that the law of man, working through the law of supply and demand, gives the value to coin, and under free coinage to the metal in the coin, and not the value of the metal that gives the value to the coin. But to return, gold is at a premium of 57 per cent. measured by Indian rupees, it is at a premium of 113 per cent. as measured by silver. Consequently the Indian gets a price for his products more than a half greater, and the Chinese a price more than twice as great as that gotten by the American farmer.

And now one word more as to the relation between prices and wages to per capita circulation. We have seen that where labor is least productive there the per capita circulation needed is smallest. But there is another factor of great importance in determining the distribution of money in different countries. And that is the diversification of industries. Where diversification of industries is carried far, and a great part of that produced must be sold for money, the demand for money and the need of money is much greater than where each family, or group of families, constitute, as it were, an industrial unit, consuming much the greater part of that which they produce, and having little to sell for money. We have such conditions exemplified in France and Switzerland. In France industries are greatly diversified, and the need for money great; in Switzerland conditions are reversed, and the need of money comparatively small. Thus it is that a per capita circulation of \$10.80 in Switzerland suffices to maintain prices at a level that a per capita circulation of \$35.47 does in France. In short, because of the greater diversification of industries, the demand for money is several fold greater in France than in Switzerland.

Then, too, there is one other factor to be taken into consideration in weighing the per capita circulation of different countries and the effect on prices. And that is, that the use of money is more economized, that is turned over from hand to hand faster in some countries than in others. It is clear that if by some economizing process such as the extension of banking facilities, the rapidity of the circulation of the dollar could be doubled, it would be equal to a doubling of the volume of money. But such economizing in one country would not lead to a great and permanent cheapening of money and raising of prices, for it would be followed by a drain of gold to those countries not making such an economical use of money and a contraction of the currency. From what we have said, however, it is clear that a smaller per capita circulation will suffice in countries where banking facilities are farthest extended, and the use of money



the most economized than is needed in other countries where industries are no more widely diversified, or the exchange of products greater, but where the use of money is not economized. Thus a per capita circulation of \$21.80 in Great Britain does the work of \$35.47 in France, and a per capita circulation of \$22.80 in the United States suffices to transfer a greater volume of produce per capita and at approximately the same prices than that accomplished in France with a greater volume of currency.

We are asked by a correspondent if "it is not true that the prices of labor and products of labor all over the civilized world correspond to the per capita circulation of money in each one?" Bearing the foregoing in mind, we answer yes and no. To summarize, it is not merely the volume of money that makes money scarce or dear, but the work to be done by money compared to its volume. Consequently the need of money is greater in those countries where labor is most diligently applied and most productive, in those countries where the division of labor is carried farthest, and where, as a result, each producer, consuming directly but a small part of that which he produces, is dependent on the exchange of his surplus products for the surplus products of others, to get what he desires to consume. And this exchange must be effected by money. So, where employments are greatly diversified, and exchanges greatly multiplied, it takes much money to effect them, and so there is much greater need of money per capita in those countries where industries are greatly diversified—where each producer can use but little of what he makes, and must exchange his products in whole or great part for what he desires to consume—than in those countries where each family produces a large part of what it consumes, and where there is little surplus to be exchanged, through the medium of money for other goods. So it is, as we have explained, that France needs a larger per capita circulation than Switzerland. An increase in circulation in either country would, other things being equal, raise prices, but as France needs three and a half times as much money as her neighbor, that is, as the exchanges of France are three and a half times larger per capita than in Switzerland—an increase in the volume of money in Switzerland of \$1 per capita would have as great an effect on prices as an increase of \$3.50 in France.

In brief, the law of money and prices is just this: When money rises, prices fall, and when money falls prices rise. In short, the value of money fixes prices; but the value of money is not alone fixed by the volume. It is dependent on the demand for money—that is the quantity of goods in the hands of those desirous of exchanging them for money—and the supply of money—that is, the volume of money in circulation. Anything that upsets this relation between the supply of and demand for money must upset prices. To increase the quantity of goods that must be exchanged through the medium of money is to increase the demand for money, and unless the volume of money in circulation is concurrently increased, money will rise and prices fall just as surely as money will rise and prices fall as the result of currency contraction. And it is through such an experience that the western world, having placed reliance on gold, is passing. The demand for money is growing faster than the supply. So we have, compared to the demand, a growing scarcity of money. And scarce money means dear money, and dear money more burdensome debts,—the enrichment of the few and the impoverishment of the many, means the building up of a plutocracy on the wealth produced but not enjoyed by the many. So it is that scarce money means dear money and dear money low prices and cheap men.

Two things, well considered, would prevent many quarrels; first to have it well ascertained whether we are not disputing about terms rather than things; and, secondly, to examine whether that on which we differ is worth contending about.

#### A SUGGESTION FROM WASHINGTON'S GOVERNOR.

Wharton Barker, Esq., Editor "THE AMERICAN."

MY DEAR SIR:—I am very much pleased with THE AMERICAN; it is a patriotic journal treating matters of public interest from an elevated standpoint. Evidently its arguments will finally take hold upon the better class of American citizenship.

I note that you favor the formation of a new party, to be called the AMERICAN PARTY. To this I am moved to reply that you propose what cannot be successfully put in practice for 1900. And this I regard as supremely important.

Allow me to give you my plan: Let the Populists, the Democrats and the Free Silver Republicans each hold a national nominating convention at some time during the summer of 1900. The three conventions to be held at the same time and in the same city, with the understanding that arrangements be made by means of which the three conventions shall all agree upon the same candidates and upon platforms which do not radically differ.

This was the plan successfully followed in our state campaign last year in this State. In this way a larger vote can be polled than in any other; by following it we can win, and in my opinion it is the only way that varying shades of thought can be brought to act in political harmony. Very truly,

J. R. ROGERS.

State of Washington,  
Executive Department, Olympia, June 3, 1897.

#### WOMEN'S WAYS.

THE air of the forest is heavy with fragrance,  
As gray tinted flowers their petals uncurl;  
But two flashing wings that God colored as brightly  
Are rigid and still—for the whim of a girl.

The little brook catches its breath as it passes,  
A shadow lies dark on the woods' brooding face—  
A bit of God's music and sunshine gone from them—  
Fettered by ribbons and meshes of lace.

A full-throated chorus, yet summer is grieving  
Over the songs that will never be heard—  
Locked in a small, stiffened breast. O I wonder  
What God is thinking, you poor little bird!

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God thinks that the life he gives is precious; that not even a sparrow falls to the ground without his notice; that the hand which wantonly and wickedly takes the life of a bird is stained with blood which will be required, and that the woman who knows the cost—the cruel cost—of such adornment as that furnished by the plumage and wings and bodies of birds, and who wilfully encourages their destruction, is guilty before him who is the author of life and love.

In the name of that God who gave you life and who gave life to the bird, who put love in your heart, and who put love in the heart of the bird, who inspired maternal instinct in your breast and who inspired maternal instinct in the breast of the bird, and who bids you reverence and hold sacred in the bird what you reverence and hold sacred in yourself, I plead with you to deny yourself this form of decoration and to use your power to stay this destructive custom which is silencing the song and stilling forever the life of God's beautiful birds. In the name of the birds themselves I plead with you for mercy and for grace toward them. If you hear and heed my plea and obey the divine command and practice the self-denial shown in the spirit and life of Jesus, who came not to destroy life, but to save it, then the birds of the air will sing to you sweeter songs than ever—songs which may make glad your soul because they voice the benediction of God.—Rev. W. W. McLane, D.D., of New Haven, Conn.

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Madame Roland defined marriage as an institution where one person was expected to provide happiness for two.

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"The most subtle and deceitful hope which ever existed, and one which wrecks the happiness of many a young girl's life," writes Dwight L. Moody, "is the common delusion that a woman can best reform a man by marrying him. It is a mystery to me how people can be so blinded to the hundreds of cases in every community where tottering homes have fallen and innocent lives have been wrecked because some young girl has persisted in marrying a scoundrel in the hope of saving him. I have never known such a union, and I have seen hundreds of them, result in anything but sadness and disaster. Let no young girl think that she may be able to accomplish what a loving mother

or sympathetic sisters have been unable to do. Before there is any contract of marriage there should be convincing proof that there has been real and thorough regeneration."

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An old bachelor, who had lately been hanging the pictures of an exhibition, having rejected those of a certain painter, was waited upon by the painter's wife, to know why, when he had the courage to address the lady in the following terms: "Madam, the reason your husband's pictures were rejected was that they were as big as a tree; but if he will send us anything as small as you are, and as pretty, and as nicely framed, and as well painted, we'll hang it."

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A woman who adopts teaching as her life work is practically debarred from marriage under peril of losing her position. Denied her right to fulfill her destiny by this unpleasant alternative, with earnings insufficient to enable her to accumulate anything for her future maintenance, what shall she do in that dismal to-morrow that must find her aged, penniless and childless? Her married sisters have grown-up sons and daughters "to be leant on and walked with," but she is alone and poor. Since the public demands celibacy of its female teachers, and not of its male teachers, and the former are deprived of the natural protectors that insure other women and men against neglect in their old age, the public should make it up to women teachers in pensions or higher salaries, higher even than are paid to men, in order that these single women may themselves provide for their lonely old age. This view is not so absurd as custom misleads people to think. German writers express surprise at the numerical disparity between male and female teachers in American schools, but note that the States having a preponderance of male teachers are not those which have the most effective educational system. They cite Arkansas, with 68.5 per cent. of male teachers, as being far behind Massachusetts with 90.91 per cent. of female teachers. Dr. Schlee accepts as a general truth that "the further the American school system develops the more the female teachers predominate." President Warren, of Boston University, remarks: "If this be true, it may quite possibly have a sociological and pedagogical significance not yet generally recognized."—*Elizabeth A. Allen.*

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We cannot all have pretty hands nor even white ones, but we can give these faithful servants enough care to insure comfort and wholesomeness. The hand enters so intimately into all our work and pleasure that it seems like a minor brain, and certainly earns better care than it often receives. The first step toward improvement is to make the hands clean and keep them so. To insure this they must have thorough attention at bedtime. Have ready a bowl of warm water, a can of coarse cornmeal and some soap. Lather the hands and wrists, rub well with cornmeal, and then rinse and dry on a soft towel. The cornmeal is less irritating than a nail or flesh brush and removes all stains and dirt much more effectively.

In drying the hands, push the flesh back gently from the top of the nails. If this habit is once formed nothing will be necessary to insure the pretty half-moon so much admired at the base of the nail. Brittle nails should have an occasional application of sweet almond oil. Pure lemon juice is one of the finest things for the hands. It removes stains and makes the skin smooth and the muscles supple. A lotion which gives the hand a velvety softness, yet will not soil the daintiest glove a moment after use, is made of one-third glycerine, one-third bay rum, and one-third rose water. Shake the mixture well, and use after drying the hands and always before exposure to the wind. The shape of the nails and finger tips may often be improved by drawing the fingers, one at a time, through the tightly-closed hand. Some reader may like to know that ink stains vanish before lemon juice, and it may help some one to know that iodine stains are removed by a little wet starch. So much of character is expressed by the hand—surely we cannot afford to fall into careless ways and let this little member tell tales out of school.

#### A CHAPTER ABOUT CHILDREN.

THREE little girls are weary,  
Weary of books and of play;  
Sad is the world, and dreary,  
Slowly the time slips away.  
Six little feet are aching,  
Bowed is each little head;  
Yet they are up and shaking  
When there is mention of bed.

Bravely they laugh and chatter,  
Just for a minute or two;  
Then, when they end their clatter,  
Sleep comes quickly to woo,  
Slowly their eyes are closing,  
Down again drops every head,  
Three little maids are dozing,  
Though they're not ready for bed.

That is their method ever,  
Night after night they protest,  
Claiming they're sleepy never,  
Never in need of their rest,  
Nodding and almost dreaming,  
Drowsily each little head  
Still is forever scheming  
Merely to keep out of bed.

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If you have anything to do, do it at once. Don't sit down in the rocking-chair, and lose three-quarters of an hour in dreading the job. Be sure that it will seem ten times harder than it did at first. Keep this motto: Be on time, in small things as well as great. Habit is everything. The boy who is behind time at breakfast and at school, will be sure to get "left" in the important things of life. If you have a chronic habit of dreading and putting off things, make a great effort to cure yourself. Brace up! Make up your mind that you will have some backbone. Don't be a limp, jellyfish kind of person. Depend upon it, that life is very much as you make it. The first thing to decide is, what are you going to make it. The next thing is to take off your coat and go to work. Make yourself necessary somewhere. There are thousands of boys and young men in the world who wouldn't be missed if they were to drop out of it to-morrow. Don't be one of this sort. Be a power in your own little world, and then, depend upon it, the big world will hear from you.

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Willie Smith was playing with the Jones boys. His mother called him and said, "Willie, don't you know those Jones boys are bad boys for you to play with?"

"Yes, mamma," replied Willie, "I know that; but don't you know I am a good boy for them to play with?"

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Do not let baby feel that he must scream hard and long before any notice will be taken of him. One little baby cried himself into a rupture before he was two months old because the nurse said: "I won't pick him up now, not until he makes more noise than this." Very soon babykins learned if he wanted any attention he must scream loud and long. He had a strong will, and consequently when he felt he could no longer endure the present condition of affairs, he screamed loud and long.

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As has been said, baby has no language but a cry. A baby's cry should be interpreted as his only method of making his wants known. What other way can a little baby communicate his wishes and desires to those around him? Some may say that a child that cannot talk should have no desires or wishes to make known, but notwithstanding this assertion we know that they do wish to communicate to those around them when but a few months old. Children of much individuality, however young, try to be understood long before they have mastered even one word of language. Whenever a baby cries those who have charge of him should try to discover what is the cause. Rest assured there is a cause. A great many little babies cry for water. Just a drink of water. Every child needs water to drink. Some people seem to forget the great loss of water to baby's little body through the exhalation of the breath and through the skin also. This loss needs to be supplied by water. Milk is not a substitute. If a child cries because of thirst, and he is given milk, he will usually stop crying for a time, but he does not feel thoroughly satisfied until he has the water. Some children seem to need more water than other children, just as some adults seem to need more water than others. Even when first born, it is now considered best to begin by giving baby a teaspoonful of water.

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A little girl went visiting one day, and after a time was given the album of family photographs to look at. She turned the leaves over carefully, and pretty soon closed the book. "Well, dear," asked the hostess, "did you look at the album?" "Oh yes," answered the little maid brightly; "and we've got one exactly like it, only the pictures are prettier."



## BOOK REVIEWS.

GOVERNMENTS AND PARTIES IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE. By A. Lawrence Lowell. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 2 Vols. \$5.

The United States and Great Britain, it will be noted, do not come within the scope of this masterly work, and yet their governmental systems figure very prominently in its pages for purposes of comparison. With these references we are mainly concerned now, as they throw valuable side-lights upon the working of our present political system. The bulk of the two volumes is devoted to elaborate expositions of the French system and institutions, and those of Italy, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland. The constitutions of these countries are given in their respective languages as an appendix. The evolution of these diverse forms of government is carefully and lucidly traced, making a capital text and reference book for those concerned with this momentous subject. But the dominant feature of interest to the general reader, patriotically bent upon helping to strengthen and purify the system which has established the moral and material greatness of our country, is the author's discussion of political parties, their uses and abuses. He puts it that only a very small part of this subject is here treated, "simply an attempt to study the relation between the development of parties and the mechanism of modern government, and other questions are referred to only as far as they have a bearing on the main theme." But these little keys open large cupboards, where the reader will find himself metamorphosed into a hungry searcher for appetizing information before he knows where he is. The countries named were chosen because they are split into a number of political groups or factions, unlike the broad national divisions which have made our people Republicans and Democrats, and the English Conservatives and Liberals. This European faction-grouping, says the author, is deserving of study because it has not been examined by writers as thoroughly as the Anglo-Saxon bi-party system (which is here stupidly printed "by-party").

What is party coming to, or going to, now? Is the grub turning into a butterfly, or the moth being replaced by an unlovely caterpillar? A change is certainly working in the party systems of the United States and of England. We are an easily-tickled audience, sitting in the dark, watching the mysterious changes of a beautiful dissolving view. Who the clever manipulators are behind the screen, and where they get their light, are trivial matters that do not worry the delighted majority. As long as they give us pretty landscapes bathed in a golden glow we care not whether it is a sunrise or the setting of the sun. Some contend that party has had its day, that it is now in a state of disintegration because of its degradation. But the business of nations is not likely to be carried on without party rivalry—which is the struggle for the supremacy of the fittest—until emulation ceases to be an instinct and a social virtue. While light and darkness, good and evil, carry on their faction fight, enjoying their turns as ins and outs, political parties will flourish, each bewailing the shady ill-doing of the other. In his preface the author wittily pictures the state as "a stage coach with the horses running away. On the front a number of eager men are urging the most contrary advice on the driver, whose chief object is to keep his seat; while at the back a couple of old gentlemen with spyglasses are carefully surveying the road already traversed." In one of these old gentlemen we detect a welcome likeness to the author and his kindred, who do so much to ensure wise driving by well-written retrospective reviews of experiences liable to be forgotten but for their good service. Sometimes the horses are wild mules, or stupid donkeys, and their unlucky drivers have been known to catch the infection before they could handle the lines. "Useful as all these people undoubtedly are, there ought to be room also for the quiet observers, who watch the movements of the horses and note the strains on the wheels, axles and bolts, who listen to the hubbub on the front seat and the grave conversation at the rear." The excited group on the front seats may be taken to represent the subdivision of parties in France, which has prevented the parliamentary system from being a success, and in Germany as in France constitutes a hopeless obstacle to popular government. Whereas the existence of two powerful parties enabled the people to control the Crown and bring parliamentary government to the highest pitch.

The weakness of the French system is traced with marked skill. The author quotes a French publicist as saying that "we have the organization of an empire with the forms of a republic." Centralization, paternalism, and the great power vested in the

executive department, are seen to be perils to the commonwealth, because the administrators must necessarily manifest excessive strength or weakness. If French ministers are free to use their legal authority, their powers greatly transcend those of British officials, and still more those of the United States. But we are reminded, this very immensity and pervasiveness of their power lays them open to pressure from every quarter, with what lamentable results we know from other scandals besides that of the Panama Canal. "Their administrative system is, indeed, designed for an empire, and would work admirably in the hands of a wise and benevolent autocrat who had no motive but the common weal; but when arbitrary power falls under the control of popular leaders, it can hardly fail to be used for personal and party ends; for, as a keen observer has truly said, the defect of democracy lies in the fact that it is nobody's business to look after the interests of the public." A queer picture is drawn of the French Deputy, or Congressman, who is the humble servant of the wire-pullers on the one hand, and of his least cultured constituents on the other. The traditions of centralization have caused all France to look up to Paris for guidance, so that multitudes regard their Deputy as their State-appointed agent for every kind of business. At a public dinner two Deputies told about the funny letters they were accustomed to receive, some constituents expected their Deputy to go a-shopping for them, others asked him to consult a physician on their ailments, and more than one begged him to procure a wet-nurse, as this could be done better in Paris than the provinces. That the Republic has failed to make France contented, peaceful, or strong, is admitted. Disenchantment has followed upon enthusiasm at regular intervals ever since the Revolution. The author points out that there has never been a change of party without a revolution of the entire political system. Instead of reforming, each new administration destroys the existing institution, hence the crop cannot grow because it is constantly being uprooted. If the Republic is to last the responsibility of ministers to parliament must be retained. "In a country like the United States, where power is split up by the Federal system, where the authority in the hands of the executive is comparatively small, and, above all, where belief in popular government and attachment to individual liberty and the principles of the common law are ingrained in the race, there is no danger in intrusting the administration to a President who is independent of the legislature. But this would not be safe in France because, owing to the centralization of the government and the immense power vested in the executive, such a President would be almost a dictator, and the temptation to prolong his authority, from public no less than from selfish motives, would be tremendous. . . . A President is able to overthrow a popular assembly because the French have long been accustomed to personal government, and because an assembly is incapable of maintaining a stable majority, because, in short, the French know how to work personal but not representative government, and the danger will continue until parliamentary institutions are perfected, and their traditions by long habit have become firmly rooted."

The Swiss Confederation the author holds to be the most successful democracy in the world, though he allows for the smallness of the nation, which makes rule comparatively easy, and for the many other considerations which make it worthless to institute comparisons with nations such as ours. While its federal system resembles ours in outline, in substance and operation, it is very different, being strong where ours is weak, and weak where ours is strong. "If a foreign critic were asked what parts of our national government he considered most successful as compared with European systems, he would answer without hesitation, the Senate and the Supreme Court, and he would add that the House of Representatives and the President were not quite as satisfactory. . . . It is certain that the Senate and Supreme Court have excited among foreign writers and statesmen more admiration than the other branches of the Government. . . . The Senate was at first inferior to the other branch of Congress both in influence and in public esteem, but the second generation of statesmen discovered its advantages, and the presence of men like Webster, Calhoun, and Clay gave it a lustre that raised it above the House of Representatives." The Swiss Council of States, which started as superior to the National Council, has less influence and less authority now than in 1848. The Swiss system of initiative has not amounted to much, but the referendum, or reference to a popular vote, has been a practical success. The author discusses the applicability of the referendum to the American situation. In one form, but not the Swiss, it is in use here already. It decides constitutional questions. In many States the popular vote settles other matters

besides constitutional amendments, such as the increase of the public debt, and the selection of a site for the State capital. "After the banking mania of 1848, several Western States adopted a provision requiring a popular vote upon every act creating banks." This provision comes closer to the Swiss referendum, but the author contends that it has been shown to be out of accord with our institutions, because "it was a specific remedy for a particular social disease, and has scarcely been adopted at all outside of the States which suffered at that time," besides being a complex question beyond the grasp of the people, and "clearly not within the domain of constitutional law." This is followed up with arguments against the introduction of the Swiss referendum into our system. Speaking of the mode of electing the Swiss Federal Council, the author incidentally refers to our method of nominating Presidential candidates. After grave questions of our relations with foreign powers had died away with the war of 1812, "popular jealousy put an end to the habit of congressional nomination, and before long the practice of holding national conventions sprang up in its stead." Party organization and machinery became as important as the questions at issue, and more than once the machine "has kept a party alive after it has ceased to represent any principles whatever. The modern American party without a principle is like a centipede without a head, which continues to march until destroyed by some external force. It may be observed, moreover, that the change in the method of nominating has been followed by a loss of calibre in the men elected. During the earlier history of the United States every President was a man of great personal eminence, but since the nominating convention has become fully developed, very few of them have had at the time of their first election a really high reputation in national political life."

These are handsome volumes, as far from dry as the subject allows, and both the contents and index are full as need be.

A BIT OF A FOOL. By Sir Robert Peel. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. \$1.25.

The first, commonly known as the great, Sir Robert Peel, was a sober-minded statesman, who sacrificed himself and party on the altar of free trade. His eldest son, Sir Robert, proved to be a man of brilliant talents, but as unstable as water and as dangerous as fireworks, which made an end of his career in statesmanship. He was a heavy swell and a spendthrift, who had to sell the family collection of priceless Dutch paintings, and was always in as much trouble with his friends as his enemies. His son, the writer of this precious nondescript book, is only known in this country as the dashing suitor of an American heiress, whose guardian wisely refused to allow her to purchase the tarnished coronet of a battered baronetcy. Discomfited here, the next we heard of Sir Robert was that the actress, Mrs. Langtry, was about to honor him with her hand, with which presumably would go what remains of a lavishly loaned heart, and at any rate her fortune. As news of the solemnization of the match has not yet been cabled over, this "bit of a fool" book must be regarded as the outcome of a praiseworthy effort to alleviate the pangs of hope deferred. So far as it is autobiographical the story exhibits the hero in a dual aspect, of which he seems to be happily unconscious. If he is a bit of a fool he is also a lump of a knave, though he counts on his artful (he means it to pass as artless) candor to conceal this from the reader. The story is neither more nor less than the latest Cockney version of the prodigal son, with the difference that this scapegrace is mighty proud of his small villanies and expects us to admire his aristocratic air as he wallowed in the mire and gorged on the husks his brother hogs did eat. The story is very stale indeed; everybody has read it a thousand times in the police and divorce court reports of the newspapers. It required a pound of gall to one scruple of conscience to scribble so nasty a piece of self-portraiture, which, when finished would not have been taken up by any publisher, even of rubbish, but for the brazen parading of the fact that it was written by Sir Robert Peel, Baronet.

BIRD LIFE: A Guide to the Study of our Common Birds. By Frank M. Chapman. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.75.

We learn in the preface that this volume is "not addressed to past masters in ornithology, but to those who desire a general knowledge of bird-life and some acquaintance with our commoner birds." For this purpose it is admirably adapted. Opening with a general discussion regarding the bird's place in nature, its physical structure and characteristics and their special adaptation for various modes of life, then briefly calling attention to colors

of plumage and their significance, explaining molt and the manner in which change in color is effected by the wearing away of feathers, Mr. Chapman proceeds to speak of migration, that wonderful phenomenon of life, most strikingly illustrated in birds, which has long excited remark and invited investigation, study and thought, but which has yet to be explained in a way to fully and satisfactorily solve the mysteries that still surround it and definitely disclose its whole meaning and significance. These preliminary chapters make an excellent foundation for what follows, and the beginner having read them can proceed intelligently to a meeting with the different species which are then successively introduced to him. In very brief, but remarkably comprehensive descriptions all the more common birds of the Eastern United States are mentioned, the characteristic habits, notes and songs, and points of special interest being noted in the particularly well-judged accounts. These are preceded by a key to assist in identification, and taken together with the seventy-five exceptionally true and life-like full-page portraits, drawn by Ernest Seton Thompson, of the majority of the birds referred to in the text, the careful observer should find no difficulty in correctly placing the birds which he is most likely to observe.

So far we have omitted to speak of one thing which is not only brought out specifically at the very beginning of the book, but which is in strong evidence throughout,—the economic position of birds in their relation to man. We have done this purposely, not only because it is a prominent feature of the book, but also because the importance of the question calls for more than casual remark. The economic importance and position of the innumerable living creatures which inhabit the face of the earth has of late years received greater attention and more careful study, and as this has progressed it has become more and more manifest that their inter-relation with one another, not only as classes,—insects, birds, mammals, etc.,—but as species and even individuals, and their separate and collective bearing on each other, on vegetation, in fact on the whole aspect of the world, and of course on man and his diverse interests, is of the very highest importance. As all this has become appreciated it has resulted in more and more attention to the subject, which has now come to be a matter of governmental concern, permanent bureaus of entomology, mammalogy and ornithology being maintained for the special purpose of thorough investigation by trained men employed to make it their work and to ascertain the position of each family, and as near as may be each species, as regards the interests of man. When it is known that the annual damage in the United States to agricultural crops alone from the ravages of insects is estimated to be between two and three hundred million dollars, it will be seen what importance the question has. In preparing "Bird-Life" designedly for the instruction of those who are seeking knowledge, Mr. Chapman has had the opportunity to present this question as regards birds in its true light, and his readers will begin to understand that birds should be regarded not only as beautiful creatures, useful chiefly to charm the eye and please the ear, but as active co-workers with us, whose services freely given are none the less invaluable though often little appreciated. In speaking of the economic value of birds, the general statement made as to their services in destroying insects and small rodents, etc., could properly have been qualified, for while their usefulness in this particular is far-reaching and inestimable, it must be borne in mind that their insect food does not consist exclusively of noxious species. Still the statement is entirely correct in the broad sense; it will convey the right impression, and for the purpose, and in view of the impossibility of fully treating so large a subject in the very limited space applicable, it is possibly more effective than if more strictly defined.

#### ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

When life was lived on simpler terms than now, men and women used to write what they were inspired to write, their books were published, and they were content to wait for legitimate celebrity. It sometimes happened that their proper reward did not come until long years after they had gone to the happy land where feathery quills are not deformed into pens and Stygian ink is unknown. Nowadays the upstart author cries for fame while in his swaddling clothes and demands public homage for his genius before he has cut his wisdom teeth. Witness the average "literary letter," concocted by agents of publishing houses and supplied at wholesale prices to any paper that hankers after an air of bookishness. It usually teems with



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pretty loud whispers about the just discovered greatness of some raw book concocted by a young man or maiden, who cannot possibly have read even the titles of one in a thousand of the really ripe books that have long forestalled his or her "original" effort.

\*\*\*

The puff preliminary is all right from the counting room standpoint, and if the book-buying public choose to be guided by the strictly impartial counsels of interested sellers, by all means let them do as they please. The principal hurt is to the author-victims of so fatal a method of pushing the trade. Mr. Hall Caine is not a juvenile author, nor is he green in the arts of the marketplace, but it is astounding to find a writer of his years and standing actually flattering himself that he looks wonderfully like Shakespeare! One of his intimates, who writes a puff-letter for this country, goes so far as to tell how greedily Caine swallows the diplomatic assurances of his friends that, since he began his new novel, he looks more like Shakespeare than ever. This, it is added, ensures the great man's favor. The resemblance is undoubtedly true in so far as the two men owned each a pair of eyes and ears, a single nose and a mouth of widely different singing capacity, but Caine has an excess of cheek, which ruins the comparison. He has the physiognomy of an indigo-hued Calvinistic pulpiteer, gloomy and rancid of soul. Caine can never resemble Shakespeare because he is not Abel.

\*\*\*

To what base uses may greater than we come at last! Let a popular preacher make a hit with a novel or a lecture, or by any tricks of the platform draw a paying crowd, he is at once snapped up by some speculative publisher who knows the trade value of anybody's "Life of Christ" if only he holds the ear of the masses. The latest to consent to this work of supererogation is Dr. Ian Maclaren. His true friends would do well to save him from this false step. There are too many fanciful delineations, none of which is a "Life" in any serious sense, by Farrar, Beecher, Talmage, and other "popular" caterers. They probably increase their own fame and legitimately add to their store, but they do not seem to realize the injury such books do to the interests of Bible study by tempting people away from the "Life" itself as written by those who knew more about it than these enterprising colorists do.

\*\*\*

Another questionable fashion is the getting up of memorials, monuments or busts, to minor writers. Three such are now being started, to Mrs. Hemans, James Russell Lowell and R. L. Stevenson. The preservation of the houses in which their works were written is always an admirable thing to do, though it is not done nearly as often as it might be. Statuary is less desirable, even of persons of whom we possess faithful portraits, and these are very, very few. The only monument a sound-minded man would at all prize is that of his own creation. If a book has not lived by its own vitality it cannot be permanently resurrectionized by flinging stones at it, and if a personality fades out of mind, is it worth while trying to find standing room for it in our overcrowded gallery of fame? Who would not rather be the shade of one of the mighty masters of old, floating in the unsubstantial corridor of the imagination, than a made-up modern sculpture or painting?

\*\*\*

This is the sort of literature for the times, at least for the New York Times, which thus gloats over finding the key to prosperity: "Oh! the allurements in it! It is a pamphlet which booms. The cover is half red, half green, with GOLD in huge yellow characters running across it, and it tells of the fortunes to be picked up at Koo Ten Ai, or Coeur d'Alène, or in Baker County, and almost anywhere else, in those regions 10,000 or 12,000 miles away. There is the old stock story of the laundry woman, who could not get her pay for a washed shirt, and took stock in the Cherub Claim, and she is now living in Paris (address given) on an income of \$188,000 a year. This brochure, entitled 'The New Bonanzaland, with a Brief Description of Booms,' is by Prof. Donan, and is published by the Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company of Portland, Ore."

\*\*\*

Hurst & Blackett, London, announce a work on "Women Novelists of the Reign of Queen Victoria," to which Mrs. Oliphant will contribute a paper on the Brontës, Mrs. Lynn Linton that on George Eliot, and Miss Edna Lyall that on Mrs. Gaskell.

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Please mention The American.

As a publishing concern, Uncle Sam & Co.'s Post-Office is sometimes rather slow. We received a reply one day to a letter mailed fifteen months before.

Mr. O'Shea, the Catholic publisher, of 19 Barclay street, New York, received on June 8 a postal-card which was mailed to him at Wilkesbarre, Pa., twenty years ago by one of his agents. It miscarried in some manner, and got into the hands of some person who remailed it at 6.30 o'clock on the evening of June 7, in the district covered by Branch Station C, at Bank and Hudson streets, New York.

The epistle is good reading:

Wilks Barre Pa., Aug. 14 77

Dear Sir this is to Let you know That I did not give up the business yet only i did not feel well this three weeks Past also the times ben disturbed as they Are throughout the coal region and nothing Doing at Pressant Even if i was in perfect health i would not or could not do any Business at the Pressant time as soon as works stir up and be in operation again i will Commence and get goods from you.

Please write a postal card let me know how things is.

#### Observation Sleeping Cars on B. & O.

Commencing Sunday, June 13, the B. & O. R. R. will place in service, between Baltimore and Chicago, *Pullman Observation Sleeping Cars*. The cars have a saloon parlor in the rear, furnished with easy arm chairs, upholstered revolving chairs and sofas. This will enable passengers to view with better advantage the scenic wonders that have made the B. & O. famous.—*Adv.*

#### TRAVEL NOTES.

##### HOW TO GET GOOD AND REASONABLE LONDON LODGINGS.

Two or three weeks since we noticed a *brochure* by Elbert Hubbard, in which he favors his reader with a leaf out of his own experience book on this matter. He is quite right in what he says as to locality and how to act. If he means to be funny when he spells London "Lunnon, you know," he might hit it better if he spelt it backwards, as no living creature in England, except the country yokel in last-century farces, was ever heard to pronounce it "Lunnon." Stopford Brooke used to preach in a Chapel of Ease twenty years ago, but not since. Mr. Gladstone is not the originator of the advice to strangers to see London from the roof of an omnibus. Four million Cockneys originated it.

"London is the finest city in the world for the tourist who desires liberty as wide as the wind, and who wishes to live cheaply and live well. In New York, if you want lodgings at a moderate price, you must throttle your pride and forsake respectability; but they do things differently in Lunnon, you know. From Gray's Inn Road to Portland Place, and from Oxford street to Euston road, there is just about a square mile—a section, as they say out West—of lodging-houses. Once this part of London was given up to the homes of the great and purse-proud and all that. It is respectable yet, and if you are going to be in London a week you can get a good room in one of these old-time mansions, and pay no more for it than you would pay for a room in an American hotel for one day. And as for meals, your landlady will get you anything you want and serve it for you in the daintiest style, and you will also find that a shilling and a little courtesy will go a very long way in securing creature comforts. American women in London can live in this way just as well as men. If you are a schoolma'am from Peoria, taking your vacation, follow my advice and make your home in the "Bedford District," within easy reach of Stopford Brooke's chapel, and your London visit will stand out forever as a bright oasis in memory's desert waste. All of which I put in here because Larry Hutton forgot to mention it and Mein Herr Baedeker didn't think it worth while.

"When in London I usually get a room near the British Museum for ten shillings a week; and when I want to go anywhere I walk up to the Gower Street Station, past the house where the mother of Charles Dickens had her Young Ladies' Establishment, and buying a ticket at the 'Booking Office' am duly set down near the desired objective point. You can go anywhere by the "Metropolitan," or if you prefer to take Mr. Gladstone's advice, you climb to the top of an Oxford street bus, and if you sit next the driver you have a directory, guide and familiar friend all at your service."

## Wherever

## You are

on the dining car, in the cafe, touring a wheel, avoid the danger of changing water, drink

## HIRES ROOTBEER

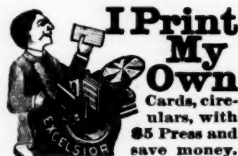
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Drives away thirst, dispels languor, increases your health, adds materially to the enjoyments of life. It's always ready for drinking and those who know its benefits are always ready to drink it.

Sold by all dealers by the bottle and in cases of two dozen plates. See that HIRE'S and the signature, Charles E. Hires Co., are on each bottle.

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